1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

PART I

CHAPTER I

HISTORY

GENERAL REMARKS

At what time the Winnebago entered Wisconsin it is impossible to say. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that they came from the east. If we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds, then we are justified in assigning a certain significance to the distribution of the latter. One of the interesting points of this distribution is that many are found along the shore of Lake Michigan and northward to Two Rivers, that some are found in Rock County, and that they gradually decrease in number as one proceeds north. This would lead us to assume that the Winnebago entered Wisconsin from the south, probably from the southeast. We ought, then, to find effigy mounds in Illinois and, in general, on the route of their probable journey from the east. This is not the case, and it is very difficult to account for their absence unless we assume that all traces of them have disappeared; that the Winnebago first developed their mound-building habit after they had reached Wisconsin; or that the mounds in Illinois are their work (and that of kindred tribes), and finally that the type of mound developed along different lines after they had definitely settled in Wisconsin. It is also possible that since the effigy mounds are undoubtedly closely associated with the clan organization this type of social organization was adopted by the Winnebago only after they entered Wisconsin.

There can be no doubt but that the Winnebago and the closely related tribes like the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa represented the second of the Siouan migrations westward. There were probably four of these migrations, as G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden claim, succeeding each other as follows:

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CHAPTER II

WINNEBAGO ARCHEOLOGY

General Problems

172 One of the most interesting and important features of the area occupied by the Winnebago is the large number of earth mounds found. That these mounds were made by the Winnebago or the Sioux there seems to be little doubt. The participation of the Sioux in the construction of these earth mounds seems, however, to have been confined entirely to the so-called linear and conical types. The effigy mounds seem to have been the work of the Winnebago exclusively[1] (figs. 2, 3).

The first really serious study of the Wisconsin mounds was made by I. A. Lapham in 1850, and his work must be considered of considerable importance still, by reason of the admirable plats of mounds long since leveled. The next discussion is found in Cyrus Thomas's Report on the Mound Explorations,[2] but he makes no attempt to explain them. Our first accurate knowledge dates from the inception of the Wisconsin Archeologist in 1901. Any attempt to study the archeology of Wisconsin will necessarily have to be based on material there published. An extremely useful and suggestive summary of the data has been made by A. B. Stout. This little pamphlet and that on the Koshkonong region[3] by the same author are of prime importance in the study of Winnebago archeology.

In order to understand the archeology of this region clearly it will be best to say a few words about the regions which were the early habitations of the Winnebago and the tribes that were their immediate neighbors.

[131] The Winnebago, when first found, were inhabiting the southern shore of Green Bay, Wis. Whether, at this time, they already extended farther south and west, it is impossible to say. The tradi-

[1] Cf. Radin, "Some Aspects of Winnebago Archeology," Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 15, no. 4, 1913. Prof. Dixon in his article on "Some Aspects of North American Archeology," Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 15, no. 4, 1913, accepts this conclusion. "The association of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin and the adjacent area with the Winnebago or other Siouan tribes seems now reasonably certain, and one might therefore naturally regard the Serpent mound and the few others of this effigy type in the Ohio Valley as due also to tribes of the same stock," p. 562.

[2] Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 67–94, Washington, 1894.

[3] "Prehistoric Earthworks in Wisconsin," Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly, vol. XII, no. 1, Columbus, 1911; and "The Archeology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. I, no. 3, 1902.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The traditions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

167 131 along the Wisconsin River and west of it to the Mississippi, and, at the same time, occupying the territory south of Lake Winnebago through the region of the Four Lakes, the shores of Lake Koshkonong and farther down along the Rock River into Illinois. Their eastern boundary was determined by the Potawatomi.

172 Let us return now to the distribution of the mounds. Of the three kinds of mounds found in Wisconsin, the conical and oval ones are the

FIG 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EFFIGY MOUNDS.

commonest, and they are met with in practically every county of the State in which records have been made. They have also been found in Minnesota. The so-called effigy mounds, on the other hand, have never been found north of a line drawn through the southern boundary of Lincoln County. They have, however, been found in every area which the Winnebago occupied at one time or another,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

with the exception of the eastern shore of Green Bay and the Fox River. At the same time they have been discovered in fairly large numbers in the counties of Sheboygan, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha, which, as far as our historical information extends, had never been occupied by the Winnebago. Flint arrow points and pottery shards are found throughout the entire State. The distribution of copper implements has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the present status of our knowledge has been ably discussed by Charles E. Brown.[4] To judge from the papers of Brown, implements of copper are found pretty generally distributed over the State, although certain objects seem to be found in greater abundance in some places than in others. 172

There are three types of mounds in Wisconsin and the territory immediately adjacent to it the effigy, the linear, and the intaglio. All of these have been subjected to a variety of explanations at the hands of archeologists, from Lapham's time to our own. The cardinal error in all their attempts at explanation has perhaps been the assumption that the mounds were necessarily of great antiquity. For a long time it was not considered likely that the present inhabitants of the region, the Winnebago or their ancestors, had had anything to do with their erection. As soon, however, as systematic inquiries had been made among living Winnebago it was discovered that not only were they able to give more or less reasonable explanations of the uses of most of the mounds, but a number of the older people claimed to have distinct recollections of the erection of some of them. In obtaining notes on social organization the writer was told incidentally that it had been customary not very long ago to erect near the habitation of each clan an effigy of their clan animal. Subsequently, upon a more systematic inquiry, it was discovered that not only were such effigy mounds erected near clan habitations, but also on every plantation owned by a certain clan. In other words, these effigy mounds were, to all intents and purposes, property marks. [423 531] Similar effigies are found in the porcupine quillwork, on the war bundles, and on the woven bags still used by the Winnebago in Wisconsin. This interpretation has been so fully corroborated that there can no longer be any possible doubt about it. The age of the mounds thus diminishes considerably. Of course some may have been erected long ago, but it is quite evident that the effigy mounds found near the Mississippi must have been erected during the eighteenth century, as the Winnebago did not reach this region before that time.

In connection with the effigy mounds two things need explanation — namely, why there are no mounds of this type near Red Banks, Green Bay, and why there are so many directly south of this region along

[4] "The Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2; and "The Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin," ibid., vol. 5, no. 3, 1906.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, a territory in which the Winnebago have no recollection of ever having lived. The first question is very difficult to answer. There is always the possibility that some mounds may yet be discovered and again it is possible that all have been leveled considerably. The apparent persistency with which the Winnebago held to the custom of mound building during their forced migration since the eighteenth century, even when they lived in [174] places for only a short time, and the absence of any mounds in their legendary home, suggest the possibility that they never lived permanently near Green Bay.[5] This inference has not been drawn from a study of the archeological but from a study of the historical sources, by Mr. P. V. Lawson.[6] In this paper the writer tries to prove that all the old sources point to Doty Island situated in Fox River, at the foot of Lake Winnebago, as the place where Nicollet first met the Winnebago. Whatever the merits of the case may be, it is certain that, according to the Winnebago themselves, their original home was Green Bay. Into this tradition many legendary details have, of course, been woven, and it seems to us that the presumption of evidence favors Green Bay, although the complete absence of what seems to have been such a characteristic feature of Winnebago culture as effigy mounds suggests a possibility that the Green Bay settlement represented just the northernmost extension of the tribe. The large settlements found along Lake Winnebago so soon after Nicollet's landing make it reasonably certain that the Winnebago had been there before his arrival in Wisconsin.

We will also have to assume that the Winnebago erected the effigy mounds along the western shore of Lake Michigan, in an area that, since the coming of the whites, has been occupied successively by the Miami and Potawatomi. This would indicate that the Winnebago [174] originally came in a compact mass from the south. They, however, have no recollection of this fact and it must indeed have taken place a long time ago. This is, of course, only an hypothesis.

172 The effigy mounds are unquestionably supposed to represent the 178 eponymous clan animals of the Winnebago. It seems, however, as if three clan animals were never represented—namely, the wolf, the buffalo, and the fish. It is possible that the mound found near the asylum grounds at Madison, Wis., is intended to represent a wolf, but, even if this could be established, it would not explain the apparent absence of any more examples of one of the most important Winnebago clans.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology.

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1]

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems.

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans.

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him in *extenso*:

> The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:
>
> The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 30 feet in width. Some are so

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 8, no. 1, of the same journal, both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 6.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 172 short that they approach the oval and platform mound types, while the longest are over 900 feet in length.

The straight pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear as given above in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. . . .

Club-shaped linears are frequently found . . . and kidney-shaped linears are not wanting. . . .

The various linear types described above are sometimes modified by an enlargement at one end. . . . This ranges from a low, flattened enlargement to a rounded, well built conical mound. Various projections or appendages to some of the linear forms . . . give figures that shade toward effigies proper. These types of linear mounds are mingled in the mound groups as shown in the various group plats. . . .

Besides the types already discussed there are peculiar combinations and composite mounds which do not admit of any rational explanation.[3]

Many explanations have been given by investigators and, for that matter, by Indians themselves, of the significance of these linear mounds. Not only is it necessary to account for the peculiar and manifold shapes, but for the equally strange combinations into which they have entered. With regard to the latter type, Mr. Stout refuses even to suggest an interpretation. He, however, takes a determined stand with regard to the linear mounds proper and interprets them as having been constructed for the purpose of symbolizing inanimate things, and consequently as really conventionalized effigies. This seems to him the only satisfactory explanation. "It is evident," he says, "that there are intermediate or transitional forms between the linears and the pure effigy types with which they are mingled."[4] He admits the existence of linear mounds extending westward into Minnesota and Manitoba, far beyond the limits of the effigy type, but he does not believe it necessary either to regard these latter as effigies or to change his interpretation of the significance of the former. Mr. Stout's interpretation is indeed a purely arbitrary one. Whereas his identification of the effigy mounds was based upon information obtained directly from some Winnebago Indians, that of the linear is based upon what he thought was the necessity of the case.

Inquiries made among the Winnebago of Wisconsin by the writer brought out the fact that the Indians were unanimous in claiming their forefathers as the authors of the mounds, but they were not at all unanimous as to their significance. By far the largest number of individuals, however, insisted that these linears were defensive works behind which they dodged during battle. These must not be confused with anything in the nature of breastworks or fortifications. The Indians claimed that these mounds ought to be found in great [C48] numbers along Lake Koshkonong, because it was there that a terrific struggle had once been waged by the Winnebago against one of

[3] Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, no. 1, Jan., 1911, pp. 21-23.
[4] Ibid., pp. 30-36.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds.

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites.

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Post regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (*natci*, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 tion. The Winnebago themselves claimed that the reason lodges were built upon mounds was because they could thus shed water most easily.

The conical mounds were unquestionably used for purposes of burial. Whether, however, they were always constructed with that particular object in view may be seriously doubted, for in some cases the burials seem to represent clear evidences of being intrusive in character. A few Indians insisted that some of the conical mounds were used as platforms from which to address an audience; that some were "stations" in the game of lacrosse, and that some were bases of lodges.

The composite type of mound, characterized by the union of a conical and a linear or by the union of a number of each, was interpreted by the Winnebago questioned as lodge bases connected with one another, the conical mound being the base of the lodge and the "linear" acting as a sort of connecting passageway.

[74] We mentioned before that Mr. Stout maintains the view that the linear are in reality conventionalized effigy mounds. Our main objection to such an interpretation would be that conventionalization is a method of artistic expression exceedingly rare among the Winnebago. Had it been common it would certainly have been found in use in their bead and quill work or in their woven bags. There is a possibility that some of the linears may be either very crudely constructed effigy mounds or that they may represent effigy mounds that have been changed through the influences of weather and general climatic conditions, as well as, to a smaller extent, by human hands, factors that have been neglected altogether too much in this connection, especially in the interpretation of what appear to be anomalies. From this point of view, it would be suggestive to compare some of the so-called "turtle" effigies with the water-spirit or "panther" type, on the one hand, and with the linears on the other. It is perhaps such "transitional" forms that have led Mr. Stout to postulate that all linears are effigies.

Summing up, we might say that the linears may be either effigies, in part representing a snake, or they may be, in part, altered or mutilated or crude effigies; or they may be the bases of lodges. We have the authority of a number of Indians that some are snake effigies. The interpretation that some are altered or mutilated has never been confirmed by the Indians themselves. Finally, that some of them are the bases of lodges is the statement of a large number of Indians, but it must await further evidence before it can be accepted.

That some of the mounds found in the Winnebago territory antedate, in part, the coming of the whites, and can consequently be regarded as constituting an archeological problem, there can hardly be any doubt. Nevertheless, many of them have been erected since

it Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[1]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[1] Brown, in Wis. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 10.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

173 825 776

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they were all of Algonquian origin. [172]

Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testimony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. [411 324] The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone. [439]

Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these passages are clearly of European origin. [172 325] [177]

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[2] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[2] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 412 325 Following Brown's classification, we note the following copper objects in Wisconsin: Axes or hatchets (the most common), chisels, "spuds," gouges, spikes, spatulas, knives, spear and arrow points, harpoon points, pikes and punches, awls and drills, spikes, needles, and fishhooks.

The most important types of axes were the following: Those oblong in outline, with edges nearly parallel; those with straight edges and tapering, widest toward the cutting edge and becoming narrower toward the head. The head itself may be either flattened, rounded, or roundly pointed. This is the most common type found. The third type, according to Brown, resembles the second, "with the exception that the margin at the edges is slightly but distinctly elevated, thus giving a slightly depressed or concave surface in the center and from end to end on one or both broad faces of the ax. In some examples this margin is fully one-half inch in width at or near the middle."[33]

Three principal types of chisels were found: Those broadest at the cutting edge, with edges tapering gradually from this cutting edge to the head; those of nearly uniform width with straight parallel edges; and those with a more or less prominent median ridge.

According to Brown there can be no doubt as to their use. "It probably included the hollowing out of wooden canoes, troughs, and vessels . . ."[34]

Knives are quite common, there being two principal types one with a straight back and oblique, curved, or straight cutting edge; and another distinguished from the latter by a greater breadth of its broad curved blade and terminating in a broadly rounded point.

Spear and arrow points are found in great profusion and fall into many types: The leaf-shaped, the stemmed and flat, the ridged, the beveled, the eyed, the notched, the toothed the spatula-shaped, the short-stemmed, the barbed or pronged, the conical, the rolled socketed, and the ridged socketed.

EARTHWORKS AND MOUNDS

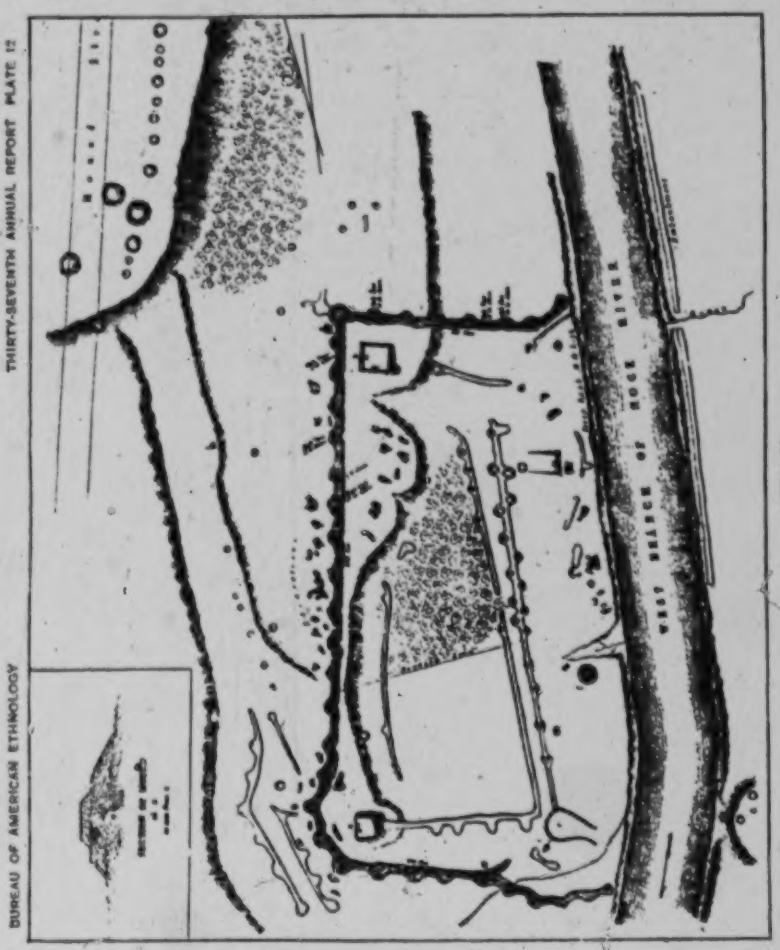
172 *Aztalan.*—Apart from the mounds there is one very famous earthwork in Wisconsin called Aztalan (pl. 12) which has for many decades puzzled archeologists. We will not enter into any of the numerous explanations given at different times by observers, but will confine ourselves exclusively to quoting the rather clear description given by Mr. G. A. West:[35]

The inclosure and associated earthworks at Aztalan, on the Crawfish River in Jefferson County, have long been considered among the most interesting and important

[33] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 61.
[34] Ibid., p. 62.
[35] "The Indian earthworks of Wisconsin antiquities," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 209-222.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172
133



[Facing p. 88(D)]

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

of the aboriginal monuments of Wisconsin. The inclosure was first noticed by the government surveyor. In 1837 a hasty survey was made by S. F. Hyer, who afterwards published a brief description. . . . In 1850 Lapham made a careful survey of Aztalan . . . and in 1855 published a description illustrated with several fine plates and figures in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin." . . .

This interesting inclosure, now almost obliterated by many years of cultivation, may be briefly described as being in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, lacking one of the long sides which is supplied by the bank of the Crawfish which forms its eastern boundary. It is reported to contain 17½ acres of land. The length of the north wall Lapham gives as 831, the west as 1,119, and the south as 700 feet. The width is given as about 22 feet and the height at from 1 to 5 feet. Along the outer edge of its entire length, at somewhat regular distances, were rounded projections which have been frequently referred to as "buttresses or bastions," but which Lapham determined "were never designed for either of the purposes indicated by those names."

"The distance from one to another varies from 61 to 95 feet, scarcely any two of them being exactly alike. Their mean distance apart is 82 feet. On the north wall and on most of the west wall they have the same height as the connecting ridge and at a little distance resemble a simple row of mounds.

"On the inner wall, opposite many of these mounds (projections), is a slight depression or sinus; possibly the remains of a sloping way by which the wall was ascended from within the inclosure."—Lapham, Antiquities, 43.

Within the wall at the northwest corner of the inclosure was a rectangular truncated pyramidal mound, its level top measuring 60 by 63 feet. At its southeast corner was a sloping ascent. At the southwest corner, also within the wall, was a square, truncated mound, the level area on its top being 53 feet wide on the west side, it being originally in all probability a square of this size. Lapham's figure shows the sides of the mound rising in two terraces to the top. There appeared to be a sloping way leading down from its top toward the east. It was the highest earthwork within the wall, which it overlooked. These two mounds he judged to have been the probable foundations of buildings or of other structures of perishable materials. From the eastern side of the last-mentioned mound a line of wall with a number of projections similar to those on the wall of the inclosure extended about two-thirds of the way to the river, where it angled and proceeded in a northwesterly direction, being broken near its middle to within about 250 feet of the north wall. Beginning near the angle and on the east side of and paralleling this wall for its entire length was a second line of wall with projections distributed at various distances along its sides.

Within the inclosure were also a number of excavations, conical mounds, embankments, and other earthworks, some of which our present knowledge enables us to identify as very probably effigy or emblematic mounds.

Opposite the northwestern angle of the wall of the inclosure were several embankments also with projections along their sides. Scattered at intervals along the entire front of the west wall were a considerable number of excavations irregular in outline and of different sizes from which some of the earth used in the construction of the wall was most probably taken.

A short distance west of these, and also extending along the front of the wall, is a long mound of the familiar tapering effigy type, an irregular line of conical mounds, and a single linear mound. Several hundred feet northwest of the inclosure on the higher ground was a double line of 60 or more conical mounds of different sizes, extending from west of the present Aztalan road across the road and in a general northerly direction into the present village of Aztalan. A small number of the more prominent of these can still be seen along the road.

On the east bank of the Crawfish opposite the inclosure were two long earthen embankments and a group of conical mounds. The larger of the two embankments

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 Lapham's plat shows to have been about 660 feet in length and probably 18 feet in width.

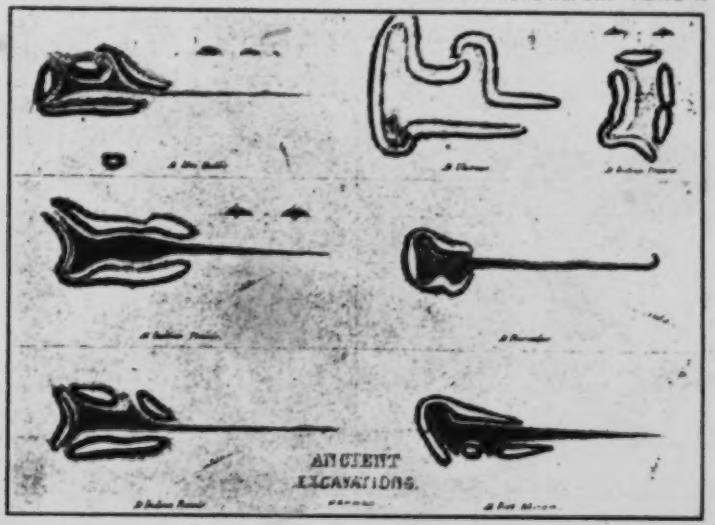
Intaglio Mounds

The intaglio mounds (pl. 13) are clearly the reverse of effigy mounds. They were discovered by Lapham 60 years or more ago and since that time no others have been found. Lapham himself located nine of them, all associated with earthworks, at Milwaukee, Pewaukee, Theresa, and Fort Atkinson. At about the same time

FIG. 4.—EFFIGY MOUNDS (PANTHER OR WATER-SPIRIT TYPE). FORKS OF THE MANITOWOC RIVER, CALUMET COUNTY, WIS.

Mr. W. H. Canfield located two near the earthworks at Baraboo. Those found by Lapham are undoubtedly intended to represent what most Wisconsin archeologists call the "panther," but which the Winnebago call the water-spirit (*wakdjexi*) (fig. 4), while those found by Canfield are probably intended to represent the bear (fig. 5).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



WISCONSIN INTAGLIOS
(After Lapham)

[Facing p. 90 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Fort Atkinson intaglio is the only one now in existence. 172
"Its greatest depth (at the middle of the body) is slightly over 2 feet. The great tail of the animal reaches to within about 25 feet of a fine large conical burial mound." [18]

Conical Mounds

These are found all over the territory once occupied by the Winnebago, but we know definitely that the Central Algonquian tribes also erected them. In the following section we will describe but one group of these mounds found on territory formerly inhabited by the Winnebago and which was never, or only for a very short time, occupied by other tribes (pl. 14).

FIG. 5.—BEAR EFFIGY MOUND, MADISON, WIS.

This interesting group was located in Angelo Township, Juneau County, and is known as Mound Prairie, West Group (Fig. 6). Twelve mounds are preserved there with the following dimensions:

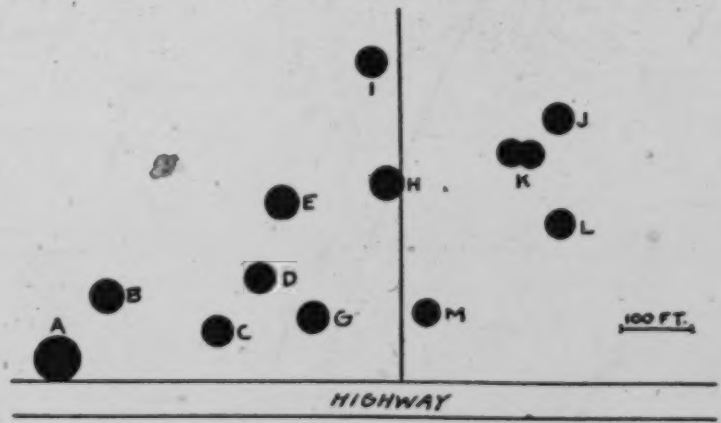


FIG. 6.—BURIAL MOUNDS, UPPER BARABOO VALLEY, WIS.

A 53 feet in diameter.	H 46 feet in diameter.
B 48 feet in diameter.	I 45 feet in diameter.
C 48 feet in diameter.	J 42 feet in diameter.
D 45 feet in diameter.	K 65 by 30 feet.
E 44 feet in diameter.	L 46 feet in diameter.
G 48 feet in diameter.	M 38 feet in diameter.

[18] C. E. Brown, "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 9.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172
764

a. BURIAL IN A MOUND AT BORCHER'S BEACH
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

172
133

b. CONICAL MOUND, CUTLER PARK, WAUKESHA, WIS.

[Facing p. 91 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 As a rule, whenever the conical mounds represent the work of the Winnebago they are always found accompanied by linear and effigy mounds. At Lake Koshkonong, out of a total of 481 mounds 309 are conical. A similar proportion is found in other groups. Little has ever been found in them except burials and there seems little doubt that the vast majority of them were always used for this purpose. (Pls. 15–17; fig. 7.)

FIG. 7.—BURIAL MOUNDS IN A GROUP AT RICE LAKE, RUSK COUNTY, WIS.

In a number of places conical mounds are joined to linear mounds or to other structures, often producing irregular figures. Mr. A. B. Stout classifies them as belonging in general to three types. The commonest of these combinations are those called by Mr. Stout the dumb-bell and tadpole type (fig. 8).

LINEAR MOUNDS

Linear mounds, like conical mounds, are found all over the territory once occupied by the Winnebago. What purpose they could have served is not definitely known, although the modern Winnebago

[Text continues on p. 98.—Analyst]

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172
133

A SERIES OF BURIAL MOUNDS
(Antalon, Jefferson County)

[Facing p. 92 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 16

STONE CHAMBER IN BURIAL MOUND, BUFFALO LAKE, MARQUETTE COUNTY, WIS.
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

[Facing p. 92 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172
133

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 17

ZAHN MOUND, CALUMET COUNTY, WIS.

[Facing p. 92(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

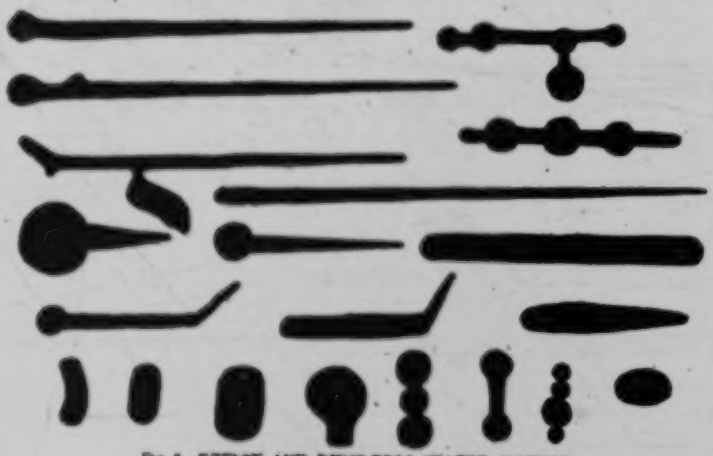


FIG. 8.—EFFIGY AND DUMB-BELL-SHAPED MOUNDS.

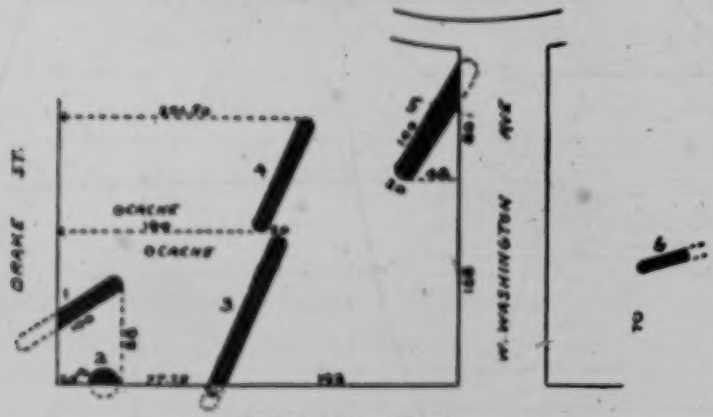


FIG. 9.—LINEAR MOUNDS AT MADISON, WIS.

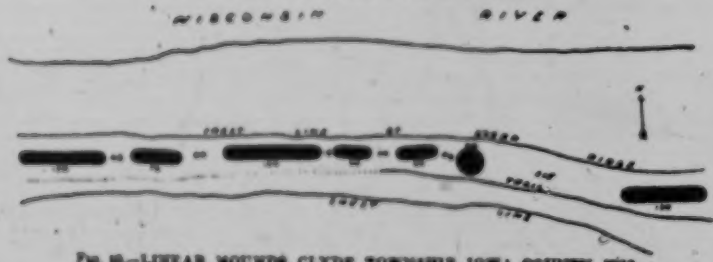


FIG. 10.—LINEAR MOUNDS, CLYDE TOWNSHIP, IOWA COUNTY, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

FIG. 11.—EFFIGY AND LINEAR MOUNDS, FISHTAKA, WAUKESHA COUNTY, WIS.

FIG. 12.—EFFIGY MOUNDS IN THE WINGRA GROUP, MADISON, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

FIG. 13.—BIRD EFFIGY MOUNDS.

FIG. 14.—MAN MOUND, GREENFIELD TOWNSHIP, SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

In Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

FIG. 14.—TYPES OF ANIMAL EFFIGY MOUNDS.

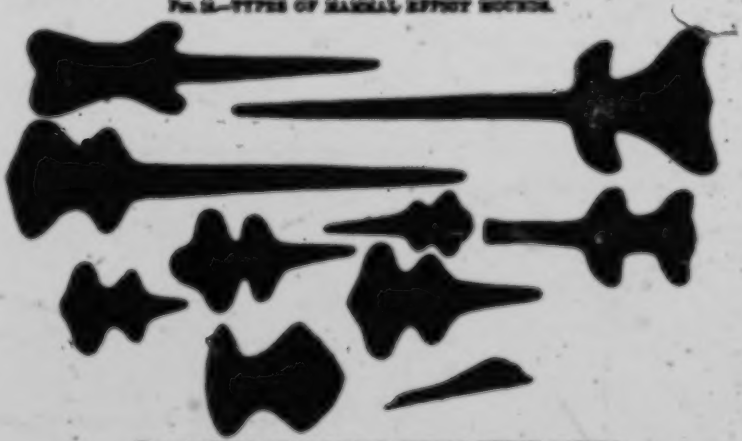


FIG. 15.—TYPES OF SOCALLED TURTLE EFFIGY MOUNDS.

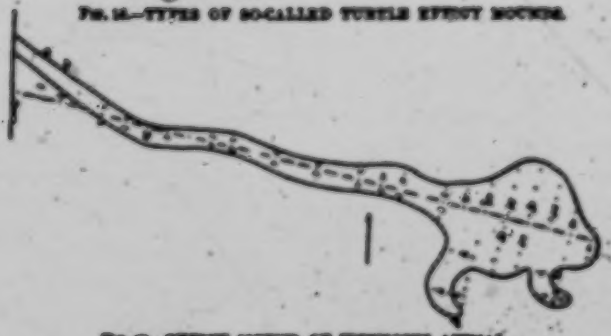


FIG. 16.—EFFIGY MOUND OF UNKNOWN ANIMAL.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

FIG. 18.—LA VALLE MAN MOUND, SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

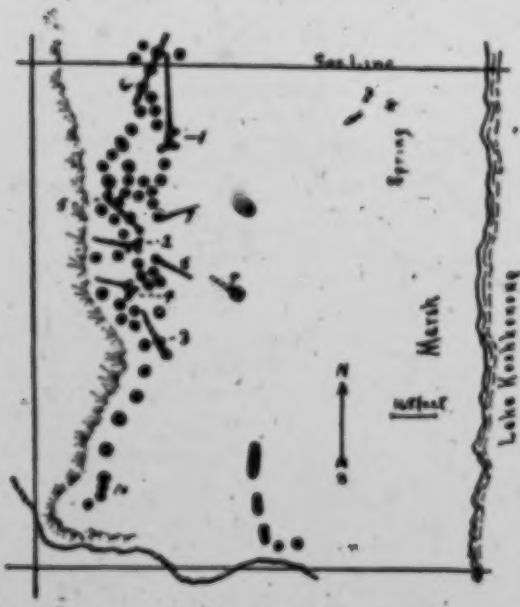


FIG. 19.—GROUP OF MOUNDS OF DIFFERENT TYPES, LAKE KOSHKONONG, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 172 seen to be practically unanimous in explaining them as either the base of lodges or as defenses (figs. 9, 10, 11).

Effigy Mounds

Effigy mounds (figs. 4, 5, 11–18) are discussed at some length in the following pages. The following types are found: The bird, the bear, the panther or water-spirit, the deer (uncommon), the wolf (uncommon), the turtle, and the so-called man. The commonest by far are the bird, bear, and water-spirit, and this would seem to corroborate the statements of living Winnebago that these mounds represent the clan effigies, for these three clans were by far the most important and numerous in the tribe. Certain of the clans are apparently not represented, particularly the elk, the buffalo, the snake, and the fish, while but isolated examples of two fairly important clans, the wolf and the deer, are found. If the so-called turtle mounds (fig. 10) were really intended to represent that animal, we would have the only instance of a large number of mounds that can not possibly be connected with the Winnebago clans, for the tribe never had a Turtle clan. However, these mounds may not really have been intended to represent turtles. On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the effigy mounds represented only clan animals. It is possible that some were erected for religious purposes.

[64]

Owing to the fact that so many effigy mounds have been destroyed in the last two or three centuries, it is quite impossible to be certain of the distribution of specific types. Even those still in existence have not all been carefully noted and described. Until this is done, no even approximately definitive conclusions can be drawn as to the reasons for the prevalence of certain types in one area and others in other areas. To give some idea of their distribution, however, we will describe briefly their distribution in those sections of Wisconsin that have been fairly thoroughly studied:

Lake Mendota.—Two types of bird, bear, water-spirit, and the very rare effigy of a frog.

Lake Koshkonong.—Two types of bird, water-spirit, frog? mink? and an unknown mammal.

Fond du Lac.—Water-spirit, one type of bird, turtle.

Lake Waubesa.—Water-spirit, three types of bird, bear, turtle, and lynx.

Turtle Creek, Rock County.—Water-spirit, turtle.

Winnebago County.—Water-spirit, bear, bird.

Lake Wingra.—Water-spirit, turtle, three types of bird, and bear.

Manitowoc County.—Bird, water-spirit, turtle.

Sauk County.—One type of bird, bear, mink, water-spirit.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

In general it may be said that effigies of the bird type are found over the entire region in which effigies are found, although certain types seem to have a restricted range—the bear type, westward from Lake Waubesa to Sauk County and probably beyond; the water-spirit, over the entire region from Milwaukee to Madison and as far north as Gills Landing in Waupaca County; the goose, at Lake

172 ●

[171]

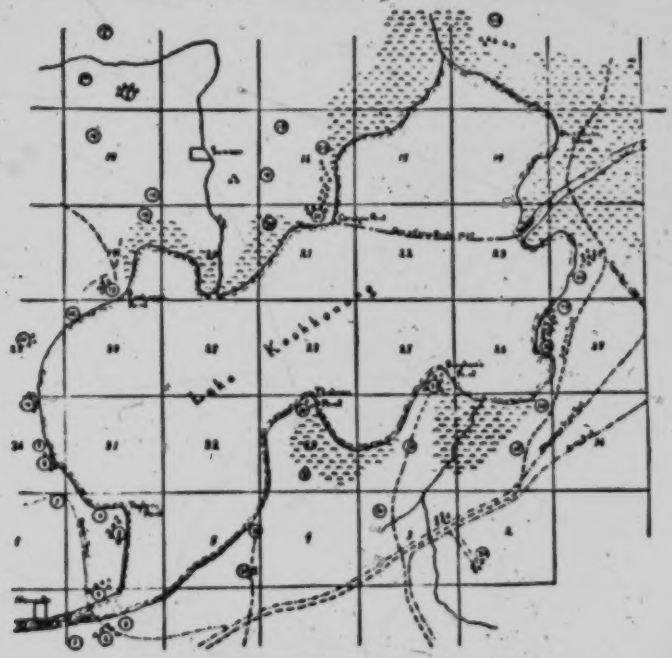


FIG. 28.—ARCHEOLOGIC MAP OF LAKE KOSHKONONG.

INDEX TO MAP.

1. Conch shell cache, 1842.
2. Black Hawk's camp, 1832.
3. Ogden group.
4. Rock River group and village site.
5. Tay-o-he-dah group and village site.
6. Taylor House group.
7. Fulton group.
8. Koshkonong group and village site.
9. Johnson group.
10. Nor Springs group and village site.
11. North group.
12. Rufus Bingham group.
13. La Fallier group and village site.
14. Goldthorpe burials.
15. Mossner Harden beds.
16. Hamilton group.
17. Cabe, Koshkonong Creek mounds and village site.
18. Conch shell cache, 1867.
19. Draves group.
20. Shaview group.
21. Carrajou mounds and White Crow's village.
22. Lone Tree mounds and garden beds.
23. Allpeter group and White Oak's village.
24. Man Eater's village.
25 and 25. Gen. Atkinson group.
26. Board group and Kewaskum's camp.
27. Fox Hunter's Point mound and earthwork.
28. Lookout group.
29. Haight's Creek group.
30. Atkinson's camp.
31. Indian earthwork.
32 and 33. Ira Bingham group and village site.
34 and 35. Tiberius Point village site and earthworks.
36. French trader's cabin sites.
37. Camp site and earthwork.
38. Black Hawk Island camp site.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 172 Waubesa and the upper Madison lakes; the lynx type, at Lake Waubesa, as far east as Lake Koshkonong, and as far west as Devils Lake in Sauk County.

DESCRIPTION OF LAKE KOSHKONONG MOUNDS

In order to give an idea of what a carefully planned survey of a particular region has yielded we will quote Mr. A. B. Stout's summary of his work at Lake Koshkonong (figs. 19, 20):[1]

A total of 481 mounds are here noted. This does not include the mounds entirely destroyed at Thiebeau Point, the Koshkonong Groups, and the Kumlien Group. There are 157 mounds on the east side and 324 on the west side of the lake. There are still well preserved 304 mounds. There is a total of 309 conical mounds of which 233 are on the west side, but of the 42 effigies 24 are on the east side of the lake.

In most cases the grouping as given is in no wise arbitrary. All the large and important groups are composed of mounds rather compactly arranged. Groups 3, 4, 6, 11, and 17 are more or less scattered and are considered as groups chiefly for convenience in description.

The largest group is the Koshkonong Group of 78 mounds. Next in rank are the General Atkinson Group of 73, the Noe Springs Group of 64, the Heard Group of 36, the Le Sellier Group of 29, the Kumlien Group of 28, the Altpeter Group of 26, and the Rufus Bingham Group of 21. In these 8 well-defined groups are found 357 of the total of 481 mounds.

All of these mounds are found in an area of 42 square miles, of which 13 are covered with water and at least 5 more occupied by swamp and marsh lands.

THE CONICAL MOUNDS

As previously stated, this type is the most abundant. Most are low, many are no more than 2 feet in height. In fact, there are but 23 that are 4 or more feet in height. The largest of the conical mounds are as follows: . . . 60 by 12 feet in diameter; . . . 75 by 10; . . . 45 by 8; . . . 54 by 7; . . . 63 by 6.

. . . Some conical mounds are built with edges overlapping, forming a sort of chain of mounds. There is some evidence of superimposed mounds. . . .

Nearly all the conical mounds have been opened in a more or less desultory manner. The few clues at hand as to the results of such digging confirm the opinion that this type of mound was built for burial purposes.

It will be noted . . . that several mounds are oval in outline. Two others are pear-shaped . . . with the larger end built considerably higher. The oval type appears to grade into the short linear. This may be noted in the General Atkinson and Altpeter groups.

COMBINATIONS OF CONICAL AND LINEAR FORMS

The dumb-bell form.—Two mounds of the Altpeter Group are of this form . . . In these the ends are decidedly conical and may possibly be superimposed upon the ends of short linear mounds.

The tadpole type.—This type of mound consists of a more or less pronounced conical mound from which extends a straight pointed linear portion that varies in length . . . In No. 4 of the Koshkonong Group the conical part is 40 by 6 with the linear part comparatively low and short. In other cases . . . the conical part is wide and flattened. In still other cases the linear part is quite long . . .

Irregular forms.—Nos. 5 and 6 of the Noe Springs Group are unusual combinations of conical and linear mounds. The conical mounds are in some cases several feet

[1] "The Archeology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," by A. B. Stout and H. L. Chaytor, Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 2, 1908.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

higher than the adjoining linear part. The surface examination made at the time of this survey gave the opinion that the conical mounds had been built upon the linear parts possibly at a later period. 172

LINEAR MOUNDS

The pure linear type.—This type is shown in . . . [fig. 8]. The mounds thus classed are straight and uniform in height and width. Some are so short as to almost approach the oval form.

The straight pointed linear type.—This form is shown in . . . [fig. 8] and is usually of great length, widest at one end and tapering to a point at the other . . . Twelve of this type are found. The longest measures 675 and the shortest 120 feet.

The angular linear type.—In group 9, No. 3 . . . [fig. 8] there is this peculiar type which is so abundant along the Wisconsin River in Sauk County.

The club-shaped linear type.—This form is shown in . . . [fig. 8] and is a slight variation of the pure linear type. There are three of this class.

The curved linear type.—This is a linear form having a slight kidney or crescent shape. There are but two mounds of this type at Lake Koshkonong.

In the Altpeter Group are three linear-like mounds that might be classed as effigies. No. 1 [fig. 8] is much like the "mink" type. No. 3 bears some resemblance to the same type, and No. 2 to the "tadpole" type. In the latter, however, the head end is but little higher than the adjoining linear part and bulges slightly more on one side.

EFFIGIES

The forms and sizes of the various effigies can be best understood by a study of the [various illustrations] . . . Not including the three mounds just mentioned or any of the "tadpole" type, there are 42 mounds that are plainly effigies. Three of these are nearly destroyed; the others are well preserved.

BIRD EFFIGIES

. . . All of these lie on the east side of the lake in two closely associated groups. There are six such effigies in the General Atkinson Group and four in the Heard Group.

But two have the wings at right angles to the body and both of these are low and flattened with heavy bead bodies in marked contrast to splendid mounds of this class in other parts of the State.

Of the class having the wings extremely drooped . . . there are five. Nos. 28 and 29 in the Heard Group have a conical-like breast, while those of the General Atkinson Group have the surface of the body nearly level. The two small bird effigies close to the Lake View Hotel . . . have a conical breast and wings half drooping.

MAMMAL EFFIGIES

All of the mounds shown in . . . [fig. 15] represent the animal as lying on one side with the fore limbs and the hind limbs united. It will be seen that there are several splendid examples of the "panther" type.

Nos. 4 and 31 are of similar form, but represent the animal with the tail raised. These two are on opposite sides of the lake and are the only effigies of this precise character.

Of the "mink" type there is an example in the Le Sellier Group.

Mound No. 1 of the Draves Group and the effigy in the Taylor House Group are the only ones of their class existing at the lake.

Of all the forms and types to be found in this region the mound shown in . . . [fig. 17] is perhaps the most . . . complicated, and it will be interesting to learn if there exists elsewhere in the State a mound of similar form.

TURTLE AND ALLIED FORMS

There are seven short . . . and two . . . long-tailed "turtle" effigies in this region.

Mound No. 60 of the Atkinson Group differs from the "turtle" effigy in profile as well as in outline. The head is considerably higher than the part midway between

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 the hind limbs. No. 38 of the Heard Group is similar, but has a truncated tail. Mound No. 61 shows still another departure in outline. . . . The four mounds just mentioned have no duplicates in the area. All the mounds shown in . . . [fig. 16] are similar in that the animal is represented from a dorsal view . . .

THE OMAHA TRIBE

A study of the various groups shows that there was no uniform plan in their construction. In general they occupy prominent elevations near the lake. There is a rather promiscuous mingling of types and arrangement of mounds which suggests that a group is the result of several or many years of continuous building during which mounds were added as desired and simply grouped to suit the immediate topography.[10]

Stone

Arrow and spearpoints.
Perforators and scrapers.
Hammerstones.
Clubheads.
Grinding and polishing stones.
Gorgets.
Pipestone.
Pipeheads.
Stone balls.

Knives.
Grooved axes and hammers.
Celts, numerous, many broken.
Pipes and fragments of pipes (of catlinite, steatite, limestone, sandstone, etc.).
Paved pieces of catlinite.
Flint spalls, chips, flakes, fragments, nodules, and rejects.
Burned stones from fireplaces.

Copper

Spearpoints.
Awls.
Rivets.
Rolled copper arrowpoints.
Beads.

Earring.
Pipehead.
Chisel.
Knives.
Rings.

Pottery

Pipe, broken, and fragments of others.
Pottery disks.

Potsherds, shell, sand and quartz tempered.

Bone and shell

Bone beads, several styles.
Bone awl.
Columella of large sea shell.
Valves of fresh-water clamshells.
Bones of various birds and animals.

"Jewel stones" from sheepshead perch.
Jawbones of pickerel.
Carapace of mud turtle.
Shell beads, disk-shaped and cylindrical styles.
Shell gorget.

The Man Mound

What probably constitutes the most interesting type of mound found in Wisconsin is the so-called Man mound, two examples of which are known, both from Sauk County, one from Greenfield Township and the other known as the La Valle Man mound. The second of these has long been obliterated, but is known to us from a plat made by Mr. Canfield in 1872 (figs. 14, 18.)

Lapham[10] described the Greenfield township Man mound as follows:

The figure is no less than 214 feet in length, the head 30 feet long, the body 100, and the legs 84. The head lies toward the south and the movement [of the body] is west-

[9] The following will give an idea of the material collected from one village site in this region. The village site is known as the White Crow site. The information is taken from the Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 93.

[10] Quoted by Brown in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 148.

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172

ward. All of the lines of this most singular effigy are curved gracefully, and much care has been bestowed upon its construction. The head is ornamented with two projections, or horns, giving a comical expression to the whole figure. [fig. 14.]

Miscellaneous Structures

Stone chambers. These are found in a number of places and were apparently always used for burial. According to the present Winnebago, chiefs were often buried in them (pl. 16).

Garden beds (fig. 21). These were first described by Lapham. According to him[28] they were "low, broad, parallel ridges, as if corn had been planted in drills. They average 4 feet in width, 25 of them having been counted in the space of a hundred feet, and the depth of the walk between them is about 6 inches."

"Mr. C. E. Brown also found some which he has described in" his paper on "Wisconsin Garden Beds:"

To the southwest . . . was a remnant of a fourth plot of beds with 11 rows. Their direction was northeast and southwest, and their length then about 50 feet, a portion having been obliterated by the plow. On another plot of ground, lying to the west of that upon which all of the above described are situated, occurred a fifth plot of beds, having a northeast and southwest direction. The rows numbered 12 and were about 48 feet long. A sixth plot of beds, running north and south, numbered 28 rows, each about 84 feet long. Its dimensions were about the same as those of the first plot.

FIG. 21. WISCONSIN GARDEN BEDS.

In summing up, Mr. Brown says:[29]

In concluding an examination of the evidence now available upon the subject of the age of the Wisconsin garden beds it may be stated that examples have now been located in 16 different localities in the State. The area in which these occur may be described as being bounded by Green Bay on the north and Racine County on the south, and extending from Lake Michigan westward to the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. In nearly every instance where garden beds are closely associated with mounds there is good reason to believe that their origin and age is identical. Like the mounds, most garden beds are prehistoric, but some were constructed in early historic times. Their association in some instances with plots of cornhills indicates that in these cases these two features of our archeology are also contemporaneous.

[28] Antiquities of Wisconsin. Smithsonian Cont. to Knowledge, vol. VII, p. 10, 1855.
[29] Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 5, no. 3, p. 103.
[30] 1901, pp. 104-113.

173

173 TRADITIONAL HISTORY--oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability; dynastic lists and genealogies; historical inferences from myth and tradition; etc. See also:

Traditions of kin groups	61	Mythology	773
Myth texts	530	Historians and genealogists	814
Kinship genealogies	601		

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

that of the keen scenter was White-Dog; and that of the tree converser was Buffalo. 173

Shortly after this battle a band of visitors from another tribe came over to Long-Wing's lodge, which had been pointed out to them as the lodge of the chief. The visitors entered it. In the meantime the Winnebago held a hurried council and decided to kill these visitors to avenge the death of their three warriors, whose loss they were still lamenting. It was decided to scald the visitors to death with hot water. The roofs of the lodges, which were gable-lodges, could easily be opened.

When everything was in readiness they called their chief out and closed the entrances firmly. The chief, however, begged them not to kill the visitors in his lodge (for it was holy). The Winnebago, however, paid no attention to him, and as they had already taken the weapons from the strangers, they poured hot water through the roof upon their heads. They killed all except two, who succeeded in making their escape through the roof. One of these changed himself into a turkey and flew away and the other got to the roof and kept jumping from one roof to the other until he came to the end of the village, where he succeeded in making his escape. However, the Winnebago noticed his shell neck ornament which had twisted around to the back of his neck and one of them threw a stone hammer at him and killed him. In reality, therefore, only one man escaped.

After they had brought the last body back to the village the chief told them that they had not acted rightly, for they had killed people in his (the chief's) lodge, and that from then on the lodge was to remain as a warrior's lodge.

That same night an owl came to the top of the lodge and hooted, saying, "The Winnebago will have bad luck." Then the Winnebago asked, "What can be the matter with us?" The chief interpreted the owl's meaning and told them that it meant that from that time on the Winnebago would lose their power.

Shortly after all these things happened the Winnebago were attacked by a disease that turned their bodies yellow and many died of this sickness.

b. When the Winnebago were in trouble because all the other tribes had leagued against them, they were living at a place near Red Banks. The enemy had shut off all the water and the only way they could get any was to tie their pack straps to their pails and let down these pails in a deep canyon. However, this was also discovered after a while and the enemy cut the pack straps.

So terrible were their straits that they finally spread their blankets on the ground and offered tobacco to their medicine men and asked

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

174 3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw.

4. Dakota, Assiniboin.[1]

[197] The linguistic grouping seems to bear out this theory with the exception of the Mandan, who are far more closely related to the Winnebago and their kindred than to the Hidatsa. It seems likewise strange that the Hidatsa and Crow, on the one hand, and the Dakota and Assiniboin, on the other, belonging to the first and fourth "migrations," should nevertheless speak dialects that are closely related. One might have expected that Dakota would be more like Omaha and its group.

●173 The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay. This is, however, merely the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan, which apparently has displaced other origin accounts. While, in a few instances, other places were mentioned, the localities to which they referred were all in Wisconsin. There may be some significance in the origin legends of some of the clans which claim that they came from over the sea (the lake), but it is utterly impossible to determine whether we are here dealing with a myth pure and simple or with a vague memory of some historical happening.

The Winnebago have, however, some recollection of their separation from their kindred Siouan tribes. The accounts collected are short and fragmentary, but this may be due largely to the fact that no systematic attempt was made by the author to obtain detailed information on this point. The following fragmentary accounts will give some idea of the value of these recollections.

a. In the early days the Winnebago often went out hunting after they had finished hoeing their corn and other crops. During one of these travels they killed an elk and every lodge received a piece of the animal except one lodge in which a man, his wife, and six daughters with their husbands lived. Thinking that they were disliked by the rest of the tribe, these remained behind the next day when the others continued their journey. They have never been heard from since. It is said that the Quapaws do not know where they come from and we think that they may be descended from this family.

b. When the Winnebago lived on Lake Michigan the tribe was so large that each clan had its own chief and a general chief presided over the whole tribe. After a while it became so hard to obtain food that a band of Winnebago went south. They never returned. These are now in the Southwest. Some of them are the Missouri and some the Iowa. Band after band kept moving away until only one was left—the present Winnebago.

[1] The Siouan, Papers of the Peabody Museum. Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 87-90, Cambridge, 1893.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

c. Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

173

103
102
361
133
131

FIG. 1. SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the locations of some of the Winnebago villages.]

1. Doty Island village, 1831-1832.
2. Portage village, 1700-1829.
3. Black Wolf village, 1828.
4. Rowdow village, 1848.
5. Satterlee's village, 1700.
6. Rush Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder village, 1828-32.
8. Sayrd village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah village, 1700.
10. Big Fox village, 1832.
11. Wilcotton village.
12. Iron Walker village.
13. Little Priest village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder village, 1828.
14. Kerrymaniee's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm village.
16. Preston village.
17. White Crow village, 1832.
18. Cheesekha village, 1830.
White Oak village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah village, 1700-1830.
20. Yellow Thunder's fort.
21. Kerrymaniee village, 1828-32.
22. Sayrd village, 1827.
23. Waddington Decorah village, 1832.
24. Bustard Decorah village, 1707.
Glassyard Decorah village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah village, 1837.
26. Big Hawk village, Pike Lake.

are this last branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

d. Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

[177]

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[648]

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 613, Washington, 1907.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

of possibly the year 1600. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois:

175
648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Iliniouek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. When commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Ochagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)."

[131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[1]

[731]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910.

173

a. When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[1] Op. cit., pp. 90-91.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 173 quite impossible for an enemy to approach near the village without the knowledge of the Winnebago, for he who could scent well would scent them, he who could fly far would see them, and he who could converse with trees would be informed of their approach. The one who could transform himself into a buffalo always bore the brunt of the fighting. He would transform himself into a buffalo whenever he got angry. In consequence the Winnebago were feared by all. They could do what they pleased with the other tribes. If the other tribes did not make war on them, they would make war on the other tribes.

One day he who could transform himself into a buffalo had the sensation which generally preceded a battle. So he told the other three. Then the one who could fly went out to make a reconnoissance of the country around them, but returned without having seen anything; then the one who could scent well, scented all around, but likewise could find nothing; then the tree-converser asked the trees and they also told him that they knew of nothing. In spite of it all, however, the buffalo-man said that he still had the premonition of something happening. Then he who could fly again went out, this time going to a distance four days' journey from the village, but he saw nothing. Each time that he went out, however, he noticed a pile of rocks in a hollow near their village. When he returned he said to the people, "Over there, there is a pile of rocks which I never noticed before. I wonder what it can be!" Then the buffalo-man said again, "I really feel that I am going to fight. Look out for yourselves therefore." However, they told him that he was worrying himself unnecessarily, that he ought to go to sleep.

However, the buffalo-man stayed awake all that night, and just as he had anticipated, the whole village was surrounded by enemies in the morning. The other three men were at once awakened and the one who could fly made a rush at the enemy, but was killed. Then the one who could scent well made a rush at the enemy, but he, too, was killed. Up to this time the latter had been absolutely invulnerable. Then the one who could converse with trees made a rush, but he, too, was killed. Thus all three were killed. Then the people said to Buffalo-man, whose real name was Long-Wing, "O Long-Wing, your people are being destroyed! Do you try and accomplish something." Then Long-Wing answered, "*Ho!*" and, making a rush for the enemy, killed four of them, the holiest of their warriors. Then the enemy gave the signal for stopping the battle, which is "*Ga.*" This signal is held to be sacred both among the Winnebago and other tribes. There the battle ended.

The Winnebago felt terrible about the loss of their three warriors. The rocks that the one who could fly had seen in the hollow were the enemy. The name of the one who could fly well was Short-Wing;

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

173 them to make it rain. Then, after the rain had fallen, they wrung out their blankets and drank the water.

All this time the men of the tribe were being killed off. After a while they began to kill the male children too. Whenever they saw a child they raised up its dress and if it was a male child, they killed it. However, there was a young mother who had a boy, and fearing that if the enemy discovered him they would kill him, she tied a string to the end of the child's penis and pulled the string back under its legs so that the child was given the appearance of a girl. From this woman and her child all the pure blood Winnebago living to-day are descended.

The war against the Winnebago was ended by a young Winnebago chief painting himself blue and surrendering himself to the other tribes.

175 648 The most important events of Winnebago history during the eighteenth century were the various alliances into which they were drawn with and against the Fox Indians in the wars that the French waged against this brave tribe. The Winnebago at first allied themselves with the Fox, but afterwards joined the French. This alliance was destined to bring upon them a great disaster. Lawson describes this period in their history as follows:[1]

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and 70 women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four Winnebago. . . . Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed 300 women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729-30, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730.

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends, the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Deadc Island in the Fox River, adjoining their former location on Doty Island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty Island waterside of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities, the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee

[1] Op. cit., pp. 66-67.

12Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was renewed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Then were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort."

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 88–100. The Winnebago have preserved a clear recollection of these stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Teap'o'epaga*.

THE TALE OF TCAP'O'EGAGA[1]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotcangara*.

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[2] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women.

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Teap'o'epaga's wife*[3] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task?" Then *Teap'o'epaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Teap'o'epaga's* wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible! The largest and best of *Teap'o'epaga's* crops have been

[1] This has also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. 192–207, Madison, 1915.
[2] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.
[3] The same spouse White-thrust.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

173
648

damaged. Indeed, you (*Teap'o'apapa*) should have forbidden them." Then *Teap'o'apapa* went over and forbad them.

Early in the morning after the third night the old woman again woke up and went to inspect the crops. Again they had damaged almost everything. "The nicest of *Teap'o'apapa's* crops they have destroyed. He should have forbidden them. Why indeed did you not forbid it? They have utterly destroyed your crops." Then *Teap'o'apapa* got up and said, "I will go and forbid them." So he went over to the Foxes and said, "Leave my crops alone, I told you. Instead of that you have destroyed them. If again to-night you dare do this, as I am a man who thinks (of revenge), beware. Dare do it again (and take the consequences)," he said.

One of the wicked ones among the Foxes who was doing this said, "O pshaw: He acts as though he were the only man (i. e., great warrior) in creation."

The next morning *Teap'o'apapa* himself got up early and went to inspect his crops, and indeed they had been utterly destroyed. What had been left (from previous depredations) had now been utterly ruined, and even the vines had been torn up. *Teap'o'apapa* felt grieved and said, "Have my attendants go and call my war-bundle bearer."[8] They went and called him and when he (and others) had arrived (they asked), "What are we to do?" *Teap'o'apapa* said, "Put on the food." Then they prepared the food.[9] When the food had been cooked they went to invite as the feasters the most important (of the people). When the feasters finished, then he said, "I am going on the warpath. At the end of the path I see my enemy. I am going to have the pleasure of killing the ten men that my grandfathers (the spirits), who are in control of war, obtained for me. For ten chiefs I am going."

Near the door he indicated what would be the first stopping place. Then he placed the war-bundle across the entrance and jumped over it.[10] Then he put the war-bundle on his back and walked toward his boat, his attendants accompanying him. They had hardly pushed off when they were greeted by a "Here! here!" Then they saw a very long boat filled with chiefs, all of whom were dressed in their best finery; their faces painted blue and medals around their necks.[11] They (the Winnebago) permitted the boat to pass and then when it was exactly alongside of them, they shot the occupants and tipped the boat over. Soon after, a strong wind arose and all the people in the village started out to give chase (to the enemy).[12]

[8] The youths who carry the war-bundle on the warpath. They are generally the nephews of the war leaders.

[9] For the war-bundle or winter feast which is always given before a war party starts.

[10] It was always customary for the leader to do this.

[11] The boat contained the Fox chiefs who had come to make reparation for the damage inflicted upon *Teap'o'apapa's* crops.

[12] I. e., started on a tribal warpath.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Trap'o'spga* has been angered. When *Trap'o'spga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[a]

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

Trap'o'spga returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and they started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hak'ize'ra* dance. So happy were the Winnebago.

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could he kill.

[a] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

●173 All the Foxes went into mourning.

648 Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tattoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go around the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," the war leader said to them. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village; we, however, will go by the way of the large village." The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Then they painted themselves, and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right along." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. In the feast in which you are now to take part, do not lend your knives to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host arose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed several Foxes, making eight in all.

[534] Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many, but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and they began torturing them. They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burned them to death and destroyed them utterly.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Foxes now offered tobacco to many different tribes, giving them beautifully decorated pipes. They desired to annihilate the Winnebago. All the different peoples liked this because they hated the Winnebago. They made their plans carefully, but even then they could not defeat (the Winnebago) in battle. They (the Winnebago) always kept on moving back as the others tried to overcome them. The Winnebago were driven into the water. They crossed to an island, taking with them the women and children. Here they lived in lodges and ate the crops as they stayed there. All summer they were besieged on this island, as the enemy hoped to destroy them. 173 648

One night a man wearing a black skin robe inside out, said, "This they are going to do to you, we heard. So far only the fleetest have come. Soon the slower ones will come, peeling basswood bark as they go along with which to bind the people. If some are still alive we can then take them home bound."

Teap'o'egaga felt sad and said, "He will die, the one who said that." Then he shot at him and tumbled him down. The one who had said this was sitting on top of a tree.

One day (the Foxes) said, "Turn over to us those Menominee who have married into your tribe. We are longing for some Menominee soup. If you give these (men) to us we will let up on you." The two Menominee among the Winnebago were great warriors and it was for them that (the Foxes) were asking. These Menominee talked to one another and the one who spoke first said, "It is a hard thing to be a son-in-law in a tribe not your own, my father used to say to me. Whenever the members of the tribe are in difficulties and they wish to save themselves, they turn (their attention to the strangers among them)." "Thus it is" (said the other), "but they may sacrifice me." "My friend, I feel the same way about it just as my father told me. I spoke to you because I thought that you might dread it."

Then the Winnebago gave the Menominee away, but the Foxes did not let up on them.

After a while the Menominee came to the aid of the Winnebago, but the Foxes said, "Wait a little; let us speak to you first." The Menominee listened and the Foxes told them, "The Winnebago are not to be pitied. There are two Menominee who had married among them and they handed them over to us. In this way we again drank Menominee soup. For this reason am I speaking to you. You may help them now, if you wish to, now that I have told you."

The Menominee had come to help the Winnebago, but now that the two Menominee had been handed over to the Foxes they turned back.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 173 48 *Trap'o'egaga* had been offered tobacco. "Well," he said, "I will try it." At night he started out and jumped into the water. Across there were enemies, so he turned himself into a goose. In the middle of the lake, a lone goose suddenly squawked. Those across shouted, "*Trap'o'egaga* is over there." "Yes," was the answer. Then he went around the shallow water and crossed over, and as he sat there bathing some one went by. They said to him, "Are you cooling yourself off with water?" "Yes," he answered.

Then he got himself ready and went to the French and when he arrived among them he said, "Father, different tribes banded together are trying to destroy us." "My child, go home, for I will come to-morrow."

When *Trap'o'egaga* returned he went around the other tribes. He went across the island. When he was home he said to the Winnebago, "Our father is going to come." All therefore expected that their father would come. Soon after the French ship came in sight. The other tribes went toward the boat as it came in sight. The Winnebago saw them go toward it. The Winnebago were frightened as they saw the other people go toward the boat, thinking that the French might take part against them.

Then the other tribes spoke to the French. "Father, you know very well that the Winnebago are bad people. Just as a big dog jumps on to a small dog and would like to kill it, so the Winnebago used to do to us. Let us therefore reduce them to ashes." The Frenchman agreed with them and said, "You have spoken the truth and I will help you. I will let you go on (if you wish) but the result will be simply that you will reduce everything to ashes. This is what will happen if you continue. You know that the Winnebago gets very resourceful when he starves. That is his nature and therefore I will take him home with me and fatten him up for you. But you must do what I now tell you. From whatever different places you come, go back to them. If you don't do it, as long as I live, never will I sell any ammunition to you. If you do not let up on the Winnebago, I will give them ammunition and lend them my own men." "All right," said they.

Then they scattered and the women and children were taken into the boat. The men who could walk fast, walked. As soon as he had brought them back near the fort he gave them food with which to sustain themselves. When they were strong enough he bade them flee and gave them good guns and as much food as they could carry in their boats. Coffee, sugar, bread, and all kinds of food he provided for them and he said, "Children, as you're about to flee (remember this). Never hunt fish with a spear. You might thus let a fish escape and if it dies later on and (the enemy) hook a dead fish and inspect it, they will say, 'This fish was speared and got away

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here." 173 ●
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

173 [183] They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[192] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 276 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

●173
133

a. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS., LEGENDARY ORIGIN PLACE OF THE WINNEBAGO

b. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS.

[Facing p. 66 (A)]

i:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us.

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds.

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs.

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented.

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

173 48 Then he married her. He lived there and worked for the Indians and stayed with them for many years and he taught them the use of many tools. He went home every once in a while and his wife went with him, but he always came back again. After a while a son was born to him and then another. When the boys were somewhat grown up he decided to take his oldest son with him to his country and bring him up in such a way that he would not be in danger, as was the case here in the woods. The Indians consented to it and they agreed that the mother was to bring up the youngest child.

So he took his oldest boy home with him and when he got home he went to live with his parents, as he had not been married in his own country. He was a leader of men. The boy was with him all the time and everyone took a great liking to him. People would come to see him and bring him presents. They gave him many toys. However, in spite of all, he got homesick and he would cry every night until he fell asleep. He cried all the time and would not eat. After a while the people thought it best to bring him back to his home, as they were afraid that he would get sick and die. Before long they brought him back. The father said: "My sons are men and they can remain here and grow up among you. You are to bring them up in your own way and they are to live just as you do."

The Indians made them fast. One morning the oldest one got up very early and did not go out fasting. His older uncle, seeing him try to eat some corn, took it away from him and, taking a piece of charcoal, mashed it, rubbed it over his face, and threw him out of doors. He went out into the wilderness and hid himself in a secret place. Afterwards the people searched for him everywhere, but they could not find him. Then the people told the uncle that he had done wrong in throwing the boy out. The latter was sorry, but there was nothing to be done any more. In reality the uncle was afraid of the boy's father. They looked everywhere but could not find him.

After a full month the boy came home and brought with him a circle of wood (i. e., a drum). He told the people that this is what he had received in a dream, and that it was not to be used in war; that it was something with which to obtain life. He said that if a feast was made to it, this feast would be one to Earthmaker, as Earthmaker had blessed him and told him to put his life in the service of the Winnebago.

From this man they received many benefits. He was called to take the foremost part in everything. They called him the Frenchman, his younger brother being called *Trap'o'agaga*, White-throat. And as they said, so it has always been. A person with French blood has always been the chief. Only they could accomplish anything among the whites. At the present time there is no clan as numerous

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian contact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him:

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

792 along nevertheless, and whenever you wish to walk like the thunder-
173 birds and walk above the earth, then I can turn back. I will go along."

There were eleven who went along. When they got to the place where the Shawnee prophet was staying they found all the other tribes (represented) there except the Winnebago.

Then the prophet said, "It is good, my younger brothers." He called the Winnebago younger brothers. "There are many tribes here, but I wanted to see you here especially. It is good you have come. I want to talk to you, but it is impossible (because I can not speak your language)." Now the old man who had come along against the wishes of the chief could speak any Indian language, so the leader said to Dog-Head, "Older brother, you used to speak almost any language; can you still do it?" Then Dog-Head said, "My younger brother, I can understand what he is saying, but I don't know whether I could talk the language myself. I may or may not be able to speak it (enough to make myself understood). I don't know." Then the leader said, "It is good, older brother. Try to talk to him, and whatever you do will be better than nothing." Then Dog-Head said to the Shawnee prophet, "I can understand what you are saying, but I am afraid to talk to you because I don't know whether I could make myself clear to you." The prophet thanked him and said, "It is good. I want to talk to you Winnebago."

Then they had a long conversation and this is what he said, "Younger brothers, we are not doing the right thing and that is why we are not getting along very well in life."

792 At that time they (the other tribes) were having their night dances,
787 so the Winnebago moved over to them. There they heard the
173 prophet speak. He said that he had been sent by the Creator because the Indians were wandering away from their old customs. For that reason the Creator had sent him to tell them of it. He at first forgot all about it, for the devil misrepresented things to him and he believed him. The devil had told him that he would go to heaven and that he could not be killed. He had told him that he had given him a holy belt. He was a bad person. Whenever he got angry he would throw his belt down on the ground and it would change into a yellow rattlesnake and rattle. When he did this the rest of the people were afraid of him. He was very mean when drunk. They were afraid of him, not only on account of his belt, which he could turn into a yellow rattlesnake, but also because of the fact that he was very strong. If, when he was drunk, a number of people jumped on him, afterwards he would find out about it and hit them. If they would resist he would kill them.

It was utterly impossible for him to be killed. He was unkind to the women. They would go with him not because they liked him

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

but because they were afraid of him. It was a dangerous thing to say anything about him. Whenever he wished to drink he would take some person's valuables and buy drink with it. These are the things he did. The Creator had sent him on a mission to the earth, but the devil had misled him. 792 787 173

On one occasion (when he was drunk) quite a number of people jumped on him and nearly killed him. When he awoke the next morning he asked his wife who had done it and she told him. "Well, they will hear of me soon. However, I want to go and take a bath first and cool off and then take my revenge, when I get back." When he was in bathing a man came to him and said, "They have told me to come after you, so let us go." Then he went back with him and he took him to the place from which he had originally started. Then the Creator said, "How are you getting on with the work which you were to do?" Then he remembered what he had been doing. Then the Creator said, "Is it for this that I created you?" Then he took his mouth and showed it to him and he saw that it was crooked and sticking out in all directions. Then he took his understanding (and showing it to him), he said, "Did I create you thus?" Then he looked into his ears and they were crooked and ragged. Thus he made him see all his bad characteristics and his evil mind. Then he took out his heart and showed it to him. It was all furrowed up and bad to look upon. "Did I create you thus?" said the Creator.

"Now, then, you will do better the next time," and he sent him back. This time, however, he (the prophet) did not come here to get revenge. He came to tell of the mysteries, but no one would believe him. "He is just getting crazier all the time," they said of him. Then he told all to gather in one place and he promised to say nothing but the truth. Then he made a small flat war club, cleared a piece of ground and laid it there. Then he said to those assembled, "If anyone can lift this, then I will not say it (i. e., talk about my mission)."

Now he (the prophet) was one of triplets. The third one was teased a good deal and one day he said, "I am getting tired of this teasing and am going home." Then he died. They had been teasing him about his head, which was very narrow. There were thus two left. The brother who was left was a powerful man. Bullets could not penetrate him, and indeed it was impossible to kill him in any way. It was this brother who had told him not to talk (about his mission). Then the prophet said to him, "Well, if you can lift this war club I will not speak about it any more." Then he tried to lift the little war club and failed. After that the brother made no more remarks about it.

Then he had them make a long lodge and they were told to go after a number of bears. As many as he told them to get, that many

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

792 787 ● 173

they would bring home with them. Thus they knew that he was telling the truth. All the people in the country listened to him and what he prophesied came true, so they believed him holy.

One day they told him that the whites were coming. After a short time they said, "They are still coming. There are very many of them." The lookouts were always watching and they saw them coming. Then the prophet said, "When they come, listen to them, and when they sleep we will attend to them." Now the whites had come; they had to cut through the roads to come. When they were near one of their number came over to ask where they could camp and they were told to camp right there. In the night, when they were asleep, they shot at them. They were half asleep and they ran away without their weapons. A tribe of Indians was just then going down the stream and these shot at the whites, too. Then they turned back and the commander had the bugle blow and called them to themselves. Then they took their guns and fought. Many Indians were killed. The one who had led the Winnebago over was killed in this battle.

Then his son started back home. His name was Small-Snake. As they were returning, unprepared for danger, a boat came down the stream and passed very close to them. The women (he was the only man among them) cried out. He was without any ammunition except two shots. Just as he got ready to shoot they were recognized. The people in the boat were not Americans but Frenchmen and they were very hungry. Thus they were saved, and the Frenchmen gave them plenty of ammunition. Then they passed safely on.

The Indians had scattered in every direction and no one knew who was alive. Then Dog-Head blessed them with a powerful medicine that he possessed. "My son (he was addressing Small-Snake), if I were to induce you to join the Medicine Dance, why that honor would perish with your death. Now they say that a man named Large-Walker had a vision in which he was blessed by a loon. 'The loon blessed him, saying, 'Large-Walker, I also bless you with this (medicine). When I work for the chief and when I sweep his lodge, I sweep all the bad things outside. It will be the same with this medicine. If a person partakes of something bad, he will not die, no matter how bad it is, but, on the contrary, he will live. Now when you wish to use this medicine, pour some tobacco for me and I will smoke it.' Then he looked at the loon and the loon had something growing out of his back. That is what he was referring to. Then the loon said again, 'When you want to dig it, don't dig it right away (i. e., without performing the proper rites). You must offer a white feather, a white deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. Then you can dig it. If you make these offerings, you will never fail in

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173 ●

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [794]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The traditions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

173 825 776

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614
551

Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth.
Teonimanega.....Walks first.
Dja'pdjirohiga.....Streak of lightning.
Manxiwimaniga.....He who walks in the cloud.
Ahu-isoretega.....Long wings.

The Bear Clan

INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[1] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

614
1730
[123]

The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[1] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of his (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. Not until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
●173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end,
[727] depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namaxinixini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namaxinixini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reⁿ*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namaxinixini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants at arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Wolf Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
● 173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the
[262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614
551

Hiedjaagaga.....White-faced.
Hiedjadjopga.....Four-eyed.
Hi°p'iwinga.....Good-haired.
Hi°tcoga.....Blue-furred.
Hominank'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjopga.....Four walking.
Manank'oga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma°ok'acutraminank'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Niedjahuga.....Coming from the water.
Niedjawanik'iriga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'etcoga.....Green forehead.
P'e-ogaga.....He who has a white forehead
P'ô°zakoga.....Big sand person.
Xe-acaraminank'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xe-omik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xe-oratcga.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcoga.....Bushy tail.
Tcarawiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Tcadrawiga.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tconankehûnga.....Chief wolf.
Tconanketcowinga.....First wolf.
Tconiminank'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuninga.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Warawaisinega.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawaiguga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waruxewinga.....She who chases.
Wirap'oga.....He who lies in wait for them.

THE WATER-SPIRIT CLAN

614

INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614
551

Ma"jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma"nunp'aga.....Second earth person.
Ni-acgadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a"p'"winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a"dagewinga.....Still water.
Nicanaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a"pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itcanga.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjexicicik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihuga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximaniga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexie"winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hop'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjxedega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

The Buffalo Clan

Introduction

614
173

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans.

[624
203]

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan.

[361]

Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

[764]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

Origin Myth*

614
173

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi-

539

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is.
173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would
539 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they
[431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this
[867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,[a] this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents.
[431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

[a] He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

THE HIE'IR'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551
Morateega.....He who travels the land.
Teanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Teeniqksiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Teega.....Buffalo.
Teep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Teetcu"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Teedojeniqk'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Teedoniqk'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Teewinxdega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanaega.....He who is in control.
Hehekmaniga?.....Shaggy walker.
Teehatcewinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth by striking
Teep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[202] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[326 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *na"natcgiega*.